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ABSTRACT

This reprint describes and discusses aspects of education in racially and ethnically pluralistic societies. The entry examines the ideologies, practices, and consequences of educating young people from heterogeneous cultural backgrounds. The issues of preserving national unity and promoting cultural diversity through education are discussed. Various curriculum practices in some well-known multicultural societies are also examined. Case studies include Germany, Canada, and the United States. (Contains 43 references.) (EH)

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PERGAMON

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Multicultural Education

This entry will describe and discuss aspects of education in racially and ethnically pluralistic societies. It will examine the ideologies, practices, and consequences of educating young people from heterogeneous cultural backgrounds. The issue of preserving national unity and promoting cultural diversity through education will be discussed, and various curriculum practices in some well-known multicultural societies will be examined.

1. Definitions and Delineations

1.1 Introduction

Initially, multicultural education will be defined as "education, usually formal, in which two or more cultures are involved," and specifications will be given during the discussion. Because there exists no universally accepted definition of multicultural education, it is defined here in a broad sense to include a variety of programs for immigrants, minorities, refugees, and majority members. It is important to note that because of increasing international contacts, even monocultural and monolingual countries experience a need for some kind of multicultural education. Multicultural education is neither a well-delineated, nor a conceptually clear area. Both as a direction in education movements and as a scientific discipline, multicultural education consists of a number of areas and specialties. It may not be possible, nor desirable, to make it a homogeneous, practical, or scientific concept or area.

1.2 Terminology

The terminology is not uniform. In addition to "multicultural education," the terms "Intercultural education," "Interethnic education," "Transcultural education," "Multiethnic education," and "Cross-cultural education" may be found in the literature. These terms are taken here to have largely the same meaning, although not all authors agree (Velasquez and Ingle 1982, Banks 1985). The first two terms, multicultural education and intercultural education, are much more common than the others.

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There are also a number of related or subordinate terms referring to types of education that may be included in the concept of multicultural education. One collection of such terms includes immigrant education, bilingual education, community education, migrant education, and minority education. All these terms refer to the education of immigrants, although minority education also may refer to the education of indigenous minorities.

Another list of terms includes immersion education (a type of bilingual education for indigenous ethnic groups), monolingual or mother tongue classes (classes for immigrant children in one language, either in the host language or the mother tongue), composite or compound classes (consisting of native and immigrant children mixed in bilingual education classes), mother tongue education (referring normally to the teaching of indigenous children, but also immigrant children), and minority schools.

1.3 The Link between Multicultural Education and Society

There is a link between multicultural education and the social and cultural concept in any particular society, with the specific goals of that society. For instance, the United States, Canada, and Australia were multicultural societies from their political beginnings, with native minority populations and one or two majority populations. They welcomed immigrants and refugees, so that a number of immigrant (minority) populations emerged. In contrast many small nations, such as the Scandinavian countries, are basically monocultural countries, possibly with small enclaves of indigenous populations (such as the Lapps in Scandinavian countries). Many countries have comparatively recently opened up to immigrants and refugees. The United Kingdom is a country with a history of recent colonialism, as are Germany and France. Israel is a country which includes Jews from industrialized countries in the West, as well as immigrants from agrarian countries in the East, and also Arabs. In reality, very few countries in the world, if any, are completely monocultural. Well-known examples of "supermultilingualism" are China and India. These are also examples of the Third World situation which is fairly complex. India, for instance, has 179 distinct languages (the numbers vary depending on the source), out of which 15 are official languages. English is the common language in practice, although it is not an official language.

Because of the link between multicultural education and society, many of the terms and concepts listed above are culture-bound. Bilingual education as a label for immigrant education is predominantly used in the United States, whereas it has broader connotations in other countries. Community languages, as a term for immigrant languages, is mostly used in Australia, whereas other expressions are used elsewhere. Bilingualism in the former Soviet Union was used for the "Russification" of incorporated areas, and hence it was very unpopular in republics such as the Baltic states. Transcultural education is a term used in the Netherlands. Multicultural education in the United States is used to refer to general multicultural competency, but it is also a broad term which includes the education of any minority, including social class or sex minorities. Multicultural education in the United Kingdom is very much concerned with racial and ethnic issues.

The existing terms have arisen from practical situations and needs, such as the experience of immigration, or the occurrence of indigenous minorities. This has resulted in a traditional understanding of multicultural education, as reflected in the definitions cited below.

Within multicultural education, new specialties are developing, in addition to traditional areas such as immigrant/minority educational research and programs. One prominent area is intercultural communication, in part applied teaching, in part a research discipline, with a North American emphasis. This discipline still lacks a scientific tradition in other parts of the world, except in some European countries.

1.4 Some Existing Definitions

The concept of multicultural education is relatively new, although the phenomenon as such is not. The *Dictionary of Education* (Good 1959) does not list it, nor does the *Encyclopedia of Education* (Deighton 1971) (although the latter has both "Immigrants—" and "Migrants—Education of"). Neither the German *Lexikon der Pädagogik* (1971) nor the Danish *Pedagogisk Uppslagsbok* (Ness 1974) includes the term. The words appear in the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* (1982) and in the *International Encyclopedia of Education* (Husén and Postlethwaite 1985). *A Critical Dictionary of Educational Concepts* (Barrow and Milburn 1986) has an entry entitled "Multiculturalism," but the discussion is predominantly concerned with multicultural education.

Some of the several definitions of multicultural education will be cited and briefly commented on here to establish what they include and do not include. None of the definitions is completely satisfactory, however, and the question is whether it is possible to formulate a precise definition for such a complex field. The entry by Banks (1985) in the *International Encyclopedia of Education* under the entry for "Multicultural States Education": "Programs and practices designed to help improve the academic achievement of ethnic and immigrant populations and/or teach majority group students about the cultures and experiences of the minority groups within their nations are referred to as multicultural education" (p.3440). This definition limits the concept of multicultural education to the

majority/minority situation within a country, but leaves out the relation to cultures outside the country. In a multicultural world the aspect of education for increasing official, commercial, cultural, and individual interdependence must be taken into consideration.

The second definition of multicultural education in this Encyclopedia is given under the entry "Immigrant Children, Policies for Educating" (Ekstrand 1985): "Multicultural education involves both majority and minority children. Majority children are expected to learn at least one foreign language, and to become acquainted with one or more foreign cultures. Preferably, majority and minority children should be integrated within the school system." (p.2401). This definition is broader than the first, but is still incomplete.

The *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* (5th edn., 1982) discusses multicultural education from the American perspective under the entry "Multicultural and Minority Education." Although criticizing other definitions, the entry avoids giving a clear definition. It states:

> Multicultural education is a broader term than "multiethnic" or "bilingual" education. In the United States "culture" has been used to include "ethnic heritage", "linguistic background", employment status (as in blue-collar culture), sex, age, race, and condition of handicap, as well as collective experience, such as "drug culture". Clearly the majority of studies that focused on multicultural phenomena are related to ethnic and linguistic cultures. (p. 1267)

This description leaves unclear what multicultural education in the United States is. Should subcultures such as "youth culture" or "gay culture" be included in the definition or not?

The *International Dictionary of Education* (Page and Thomas 1977), under the entry "Multiethnic education," refers the reader to "Crosscultural education/training," defined as "involving a mix of cultures as when a student brought up in one culture receives education at an institution which has the values of another culture" (p.92). This definition is clearly not adequate for the multicultural education concept.

The difficulties in defining multicultural education are vividly illustrated by the Swedish Committee on Linguistic and Cultural Heritage (*Språkoch Kulturarvsutredningen* 1983) which in its report states that "the term 'Intercultural Education' is specified and described, when necessary, in different contexts" (p.158). The Committee does, however, say that multicultural education is knowledge and consciousness of one's own, and different, cultures and values. However it also defines multicultural education in terms of goals, such as solving conflicts and improving relations between minority and majority groups.

Pusch (1979) provides a different type of definition. Not only does she stress knowledge and awareness of different cultures, but she also includes the practical experience of cultural differences as part of multicultural education.

These definitions are typical of what may be called "direct multicultural education" (see below), but they do not cover the teaching of subject matter, for example physics, to minority students, although this too must be considered an important part of multicultural education.

Finally, multicultural education can also be seen as a strategy, policy, or a set of organizational measures and applied teaching activities.

1.5 Delineations

A first delineation is to observe that multicultural education predominantly refers to cultures defined by national, linguistic, ethnic, or racial criteria. Social class, sex, and dialectal or geographical regions are seen as normal subcultural variations, the education of which does not belong to multicultural education. Regions within a nation are regarded as normal variations, and are not usually included in definitions of multicultural education. Nor does the education of minorities other than those defined by nation, language, ethnicity, or race, such as the handicapped or sexual minorities, belong to multicultural education.

Certain other delineations might be useful. Firstly, it is possible to differentiate between formal, informal, and nonformal multicultural education. Formal multicultural education occurs within the formal educational system, within special multicultural education programs such as bilingual education, for example through arranged study tours. Nonformal multicultural education occurs via the mass media, or as private study or tourist travels, private reading, private radio listening and television watching, and informal contacts with ethnic groups.

A further differentiation may be made between direct and indirect multicultural education. Direct multicultural education would be action taken directly to influence intercultural attitudes and competency, such as simulation and role-playing games, or comparative culture studies. Much of the literature deals with this type of instruction. Indirect multicultural education would include all the cultural information conveyed through the teaching of foreign (second) languages, and in the teaching of subject matters. Much of the direct multicultural education is closely linked to programs and training activities for intercultural communicative competency, a rapidly developing area with a growing literature.

A distinction can also be made between a general and a specific type of multicultural education. Some direct multicultural education aims at a general, nonspecific cultural awareness, typically through simulation games, films, and cultural assimilators, not related to any culture in particular. Specific mul-

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ticultural education is directed to a specific culture or to a specific need.

1.6 A Comprehensive Definition

Drawing on the observations above, a new and comprehensive definition is proposed here. Multicultural education is an educational process or a strategy involving more than one culture, as defined by national, linguistic, ethnic, or racial criteria. Multicultural education may take place within formal or informal education settings, directly or indirectly. Multicultural education is supposed to create awareness, tolerance, understanding, and knowledge regarding different cultures as well as the differences and similarities between cultures and their related world views, concepts, values, beliefs, and attitudes. It is intended to provide cognitive, verbal, and nonverbal skills in coping with different cultures or cultural groups, and skills in communicating with members of these groups. It is also intended to promote academic and social achievement in intercultural settings. The ultimate goal of multicultural education is to accomplish increased communication and understanding between cultures, nations, groups, and individuals.

2. Categories, Goals, and Methods of Multicultural Education

2.1 Categories

The type of multicultural education should be distinguished from its goals, contents, methods, and special school types. At least the following types of basic multicultural education situations can be discerned: (a) education of or about indigenous linguistic and/or ethnic minorities; (b) education of or about immigrated national, linguistic, or ethnic groups, including refugees and other temporary residents; (c) the teaching of foreign languages (for the majority as well as the minorities); (d) the teaching of second languages; (e) domestic and/or foreign culture knowledge, theory, and analysis where two or more cultures are involved; (f) programs designed for multicultural awareness and skills training; (g) education of students abroad; (h) teaching with a second or foreign language as the medium of instruction; (i) Third World knowledge, included in school curricula as well as in the training of development workers and volunteers; (j) the teaching of subject matter with international or cross-cultural components; (k) multicultural education-related areas such as cross-cultural counseling and psychology, especially in the schools; (l) specific multicultural education training of professionals such as teachers, counselors, and psychologists; (m) education and training of administrators, workers, and others into established or developing international systems; (n) peace and conflict education; (o) desegregation programs; (p) a host of other education and training needs and activities that can be summarized as "internationalization"; and (q) concern with human, ecological, environmental, or biological questions about the world, that can be summarized as "globalization."

Listing these educational contexts presents a paradox: some programs for the education of immigrants or indigenous minorities clearly aim at maintaining the mother tongue and culture of origin, and hence are made as monocultural as possible. However, their inclusion in multicultural education is justified, as these programs are carried out in another culture, and the students cannot avoid interacting with the majority culture outside the protected or sheltered programs.

Indigenous minorities may be of ancient origin, for example the aboriginals of Australia, the indigenous people of North America, the Lapps of Scandinavia, or of more recent origin, the Blacks in the United States. It is difficult to say when an immigrated group passes from immigrant status to an indigenous ethnic minority status. Opinions varying from several years to several generations are found in the literature (Vecoli 1972, Ekstrand 1978).

Foreign language teaching usually means the teaching of a language not spoken in the country. Second language teaching may include several varieties. It may mean the teaching of a second language in a bilingual country, such as French/Flemish in Belgium, English/French in Canada, or Finnish/Swedish in Finland. Which language is regarded as the second is relative to the mother tongue of each group. In many Third World countries, English or French is used as a second language, and as a medium of instruction in the schools. Normally, second language teaching also means teaching with the language as the medium of instruction, for example, English in India.

Education in domestic or foreign cultures aims at a practical working knowledge of one or more cultures, whereas culture knowledge and analysis aims at finding specific or universal principles. The two areas often overlap. The education of students abroad, which may often be mother tongue education of children of families (temporarily) living abroad, is organized by many countries. There are American, British, French, German, and other minority schools in many countries. Such schools also attract students from other nationalities too small to form a school, or from the majority population because the parents want to give their children foreign language proficiency and, in fact, a good multicultural education. Student-exchange programs like ERASMUS or COMMETT should be included in this category. Many school subjects naturally contain multicultural components. Examples are geography, religion, history, or economics. One example of problems of training for new systems is the difference in standards and rules between EEC and non-EEC countries. Inter-

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nationalization activities can be anything from conferences to intercultural song and dance programs, twin school programs, student group study tours, and pen friends.

The multicultural education training of professionals usually occurs as short-term courses. In the case of teacher training, full programs may occur. Some countries insist on the teacher trainees coming from the actual target cultures, whereas others prefer members of their own culture. Some countries have special programs for multicultural education teacher training while others integrate this training in regular programs, or do not give any training.

Multicultural education can be implemented at the preschool, primary, secondary, and tertiary education levels.

2.2 Goals, Content, Methods, and School Types

The goals of multicultural education are manifold and sometimes overlapping. They include:

(a) attitudinal goals: cultural awareness and sensitivity, cultural tolerance, respect for cultural identity, culture-responsive attitude, skill in conflict avoidance and conflict resolution;

(b) cognitive goals: academic achievement, second and foreign language learning, knowledge of specific cultures, competency to analyze and interpret cultural behavior, awareness of one's own cultural perspective;

(c) instructional goals: correcting distortions, stereotypes, omissions, and misinformation about ethnic groups in text books and teaching media; providing strategies for dealing with differences among people, providing the conceptual tools for intercultural communication, developing interpersonal skills, providing evaluative techniques, helping with values clarification, explaining cultural dynamics.

The content of courses or programs will relate to the type and goal of multicultural education as described above. It is not possible to go into a more detailed discussion of content in this context.

The methods display a large diversification. Methods for direct, specific multicultural education are case studies, immersion in a particular culture (e.g., school practice abroad and study tours), and problem-solving. One type of method deserves particular mention: the comparative approach, where at least two cultures are compared, described, and analyzed in some respect by the students, through reading, interviews, questionnaires, or visits. Examples from classes on comparative analysis are "Christmas in Arab and Western Countries," and "The Death Concept in Holland and Sweden." Other methods, also used for the direct, nonspecific multicultural education, are simulations (of cultural groups, or culture-conflict situations), films, other audiovisual presentations, seminars (occasional or series), lectures, games, critical incidents, and role playing.

Some specific school types designed for multicultural education are international schools, minority schools, and language schools. International schools are (a) national international schools, as found in Switzerland and elsewhere; (b) privately owned, parent-owned, or foreign-government-owned schools in another nation, such as the French, German, or English schools in many countries, the Anglo-American schools in the Indian subcontinent, the French *lycées* of Africa, and a host of mother tongue minority schools, all of them primarily intended for the children of abroad-based personnel; (c) schools founded by two or more governments or national groupings in cooperation; (d) schools belonging to the International Schools Association (ISA), aiming at educating young people to be at home in the world everywhere (Leach 1969). Minority schools are intended for permanently settled, indigenous, or immigrated minorities. Language schools of many kinds exist, for example the Berlitz schools, constituting a type of international language school.

3. What is "Culture" and "Multiculturalism?"

3.1 Defining Culture

Many authors define culture as the sum of behaviors and artifacts among a group of people. Often, definitions contain references to the values, rules, perceptions, and symbols that members of a group have in common. Other researchers advocate structural definitions, such as culture consisting of "isolates, sets, and patterns," patterns meaning rules (Hall 1959) or "elements, structures, patterns, and rules" (Ekstrand and Ekstrand 1986). Culture is shaped by, and in itself creates, behavior, thoughts, and feelings, in constant interaction. Thus, culture is constantly changing. What seems to be most important in a culture is (a) what unites members of the group; and (b) what distinguishes them from other groups. What is typical for a culture is not necessarily what is frequent; something very infrequent can be typical if it is not found in any other culture.

3.2 Multiculturalism

Smolicz (1981) distinguishes between three main types of "multiculturalism." First, "transitional multiculturalism" is a temporary support where children can keep up their academic skills while learning the majority language. The French-Canadians were the first to regard this as a danger and as an effective and painless way to achieve Anglo-uniformity. The traditional United States policy has been transition rather than maintenance; where maintenance occurs, it is the result of local or state initiatives. Second,

"residual multiculturalism" is the kind that takes into account all kinds of subcultural groups: for example, gay culture, pop culture, and shift workers' culture. Ethnic cultures are then added to the list. The result is that all these groups will be part of the majority way of life, which is regarded by some as a camouflaged assimilation strategy. The logical fallacy is that any ethnic group includes most of these subcultural divisions. Third, "internal multiculturalism" recognizes that culture includes structural as well as institutional aspects. Hence national cultures cannot remain intact in a plural society. Some institutional and cultural facets have to be shared by each ethnic group.

The retention and development of ethnic cultures is compatible with the evolution and acceptance of shared values for the whole society. It must be remembered that the original culture of the home country will also change, as migrants returning after a long time will discover, often painfully, as the ideal image no longer matches reality. The modification of national cultures in another country is not equivalent with their reduction into residues. Learning the majority language and fitting into a matrix of shared values need not endanger the core values of the cultures concerned. The core values themselves provide the boundary line between the cultural accommodation that must take place to make different groups fit into the shared value matrix, and the cultural retention necessary to maintain cultural pluralism. This kind of multiculturalism is applicable both to groups and individuals.

A somewhat different categorization of multiculturalism is found in Robinson (1981). First, "assimilation and bilingual education" refers to transition models marked by assimilation, defined as "the process of social and psychological adherence to a 'core society'." Second, "cultural pluralism and bilingual education" argues the right for different cultures to maintain their cultural identity. Distinct cultures remain and coexist. Third, "multicultural synthesis" means a combination and modification of the assimilationist position and the pluralist position. It describes a "melting pot" type of society, but differs from the assimilationist position in that there is no "dominant mold" or "core" society to which other cultures are attracted. This position strives for cultural eclecticism and synthesis within the individual as well as for the society *in toto*, and promotes continuous change in the various cultures. The clientele is both majority and minority members.

4. *Multicultural Adaptation*

4.1 Systems Level: Integration Processes

The intercultural adaptation process is central to the concept of multiculturalism and hence to multicultural education. Multicultural education is a consequence of interethnic and international interaction, but is also instrumental in promoting it. Broadly, two types of multicultural adjustment can be discerned, namely, of individuals and groups, and of systems and nations. Individuals and groups are involved in interaction processes of a cognitive and psychosocial nature, whereas systems, namely nations, associations of nations, and multinational organizations, are involved in organizational and diplomatic interaction. The individual may have to learn languages and acquire cultural competency, and systems have to be developed and harmonized, such as in the cases of the European Economic Community, or the integration of the East European states into the rest of Europe. There is an interplay between the individual and systems levels: to develop and understand systems, individuals have to learn, formally or informally, and systems development reflects, and is dependent on attitudes.

Two opposite processes took place in the early 1990s on the international stage at the systems level, namely, integration and disintegration. Parallel with the integration of different states, other nations or associations of nations were falling apart because of internal diversity in ethnicity, culture, and/or language.

The systems level of the integration/disintegration paradox consists of many components. Integration components are, first, increasingly improved means of communication, through travel, television, radio, mobile or otherwise improved telephones, and what is known as electronic mail, such as fax, telex, and computer networks. Second, there is the ever-increasing network of commercial exchange. Third, national jurisdictions and barriers are being superseded by international organizations, such as the United Nations with its specialized agencies (UNESCO, WHO, and the World Bank), the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development), the EEC (European Economic Community), OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries), GATT (General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade), the humanitarian organizations such as the Red Cross and Amnesty International, all the national development organizations such as the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA), USAID, and all the private organizations, such as the Ford Foundation, the Lutheran World Service, and CARE.

In most nations, interethnic and/or religious conflicts create problems. In India, there are ethnic controversies, as well as the communal conflicts between Hindus and Muslims. Iraq, Iran, and Turkey have problems, most prominently in the strained relations with the Kurds, but also among themselves. Myanmar, Indonesia, Cyprus, Sri Lanka, and Lebanon are examples of other Asian or Middle-Eastern nations with ethnic problems. The whole continent

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of Africa is a stage of interethnic, tribal, racial, and political conflicts within virtually every state.

The situation in Europe in the early 1990s was a particularly positive example of integration, both regarding the far-reaching harmonization of rules, laws, and administration within the EEC, and the democratization of the East European states, in spite of the many problems involved. The latter was preceded, however, by a disintegration process, namely the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact in the summer of 1991.

4.2 Systems Level: Disintegration Processes. Ethnicity or Ethnocentrism?

The disintegration process of the Communist systems has passed into national disintegration processes. Ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity are at the core of the disintegration processes. The increasing ethnic consciousness has led to demands for increased autonomy. The beginning of the 1990s witnessed the disintegration of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, due to ethnic differences. In the former Soviet Union, all the republics declared autonomy, and announced elections. These republics deleted the term "socialist" from their names, as did indeed the whole former Soviet Union, before its dissolution on December 25, 1991. However, some of these republics agreed to form a new Slavic Commonwealth. The three Baltic republics, formerly autonomous states, declared themselves, and were recognized by most countries, as autonomous countries, not wanting to be members of the new Commonwealth. In Yugoslavia, Slovenia and Croatia declared themselves independent, and were also recognized by many countries, and expressed their wish to develop relations with the rest of Europe and to gain membership of the EEC. In the cases of both Russia and Yugoslavia, a combination of ethnicity and economy explains the disintegration.

Apparently stable countries such as France, the United Kingdom, and the United States were also shaken by the force of the new ethnicity. In the United States, to the old diversification of American Indians, Blacks, and European immigrant groups, two new groups were added, by the influx of Hispanics from Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and elsewhere in the Caribbean, and the reception of a large number of refugees from all over the world (Gray 1991, Schlesinger 1991). By 1991 Hispanics formed 9 percent of the United States population, and in the same year, students from 123 countries were being educated in Dade County in Florida.

Radical multiculturalism seems to have upset old values, that so far had been the cement of the nation, that is the principles of freedom to create a new personal identity and the chance to become part of a nation of people who are doing the same (Gray 1991). Whereas a certain degree of multiethnic awareness is healthy and contributes to pluralism, when pressed too far, it creates disintegrative problems (Schlesinger 1991). Historians such as Schlesinger are, however, optimistic. The historic forces driving toward "one people" remain powerful, and most United States-born ethnic group members see themselves as Americans. Similar principles probably apply to many of the other nations in crisis. It would seem that a truly multicultural education of a pluralistic nature would help the situation. Demands for separate schools for ethnic groups is a type of multicultural education that strives for monoculturalism rather than pluralism, and does not seem to be able to improve the situation.

4.3 Individual and Group Level

On the individual and group level, the basic problem and subject of debate concerns the choice between integration or segregation of the minority vis-à-vis the majority. This adaptation process is of a psychosocial, interpersonal, or intergroup nature. The process is assumed to have far-reaching consequences for the mental health of minority members (see Ekstrand 1978, for a research review and references). Multicultural education is supposed to help in this process, but there is a controversy as to how to proceed. This controversy is discussed in some detail by Ekstrand (1978, 1983, 1986, 1989), and will be only briefly sketched here.

In this context, a number of concepts are used, such as integration, assimilation, adaptation, absorption, discrimination, segregation, separation, and identity. Early social scientists, such as Eisenstadt (1955), viewed assimilation as desirable, and differentiated between cultural and social assimilation. "Cultural assimilation" means the internalization by the minority members of the norms and behavior patterns of the majority. "Social assimilation" is the absorption of the minority members into the primary groups of the majority, that is, they can vote, they can become politicians or officials, and they are accepted in all social contexts. The opposite to this state of affairs is segregation, a common event long before it was scientifically studied. Some authors have differentiated between assimilation and integration, indicating that the former term means giving up ethnic identity, whereas the latter term means social assimilation but with ethnic identity retained. In 1937, Stonequist introduced the concept of marginality. Perhaps groups such as the Gypsies and Jews are the best examples of marginality because they have managed to preserve their culture and keep to themselves in spite of living in other societies.

Since the 1970s increasing ethnic awareness has produced advocates who resent assimilation on the grounds that it means totally giving up ethnic identity. This position is more political than scientific, as the advocates do not leave the decision to the individuals concerned. In any event, ethnic identity is difficult to remove. An alternative that has been

advocated is "ethnic autonomy." Sweden and the province of Bavaria in Germany were first to experience the effects of a policy of ethnic autonomy on multicultural education. The Bavarian multicultural education system has been heavily criticized and subsequently modified (Rist 1978).

In Scandinavia, as discussed in Ekstrand (1983), certain Finnish sociologists, educators, and linguists argued that immigrant children should be brought up in a segregated environment (also called positive segregation). This segregation policy manifested itself as monolingual or mother tongue classes in schools. The task of these classes was as much to protect the students from the alleged harmful influence of exposure to a second language as to promote the mother tongue. As shown in much research (see Ekstrand 1983), this type of education proved disastrous to the students. Their mother tongue declined and the host language did not develop properly, hence the children's school achievements suffered. However, students who followed mainstream education, with mother tongue tuition, did about as well as indigenous students.

In Canada, some researchers have argued that mother tongue education is superior, and that less training in the second language will improve the latter's proficiency through assumed mother tongue improvement (Cummins and Swain 1986). However, research has indicated otherwise. Some interesting research evidence suggests what will happen in the future with students from segregated ethnic school models. Nelleman (1981) interviewed about 800 Polish immigrants who came to Denmark at the beginning of the twentieth century. About 1,250 of their adult children also answered a questionnaire. They had followed Polish or Danish education. Those who had followed Polish education had preserved the Polish language and culture to a higher degree, but had also suffered more discrimination. Many were critical of their parents' choice of schooling. Their command of the Danish language had not developed satisfactorily, and they felt they had been hampered in their social careers, with difficulties in getting jobs and positions.

In Fig. 1, the interdependence of the majority's and the ethnic group's attitudes toward maintenance is summarized, and some of the terms used in the debate are defined. The ethnic group may be positive or negative toward society and toward cultural maintenance. This gives three meaningful combinations, as the fourth, being negative to both, will be rare, occurring only in individuals with severe identity problems. The mainstream society can accept or reject the ethnic group(s).

Regarding multicultural education and strategies for multicultural adaptation, long-term, specific formal or informal exposure to more than one language or culture seems to have greater impact than various direct, nonspecific approaches. This is natural, as the latter by necessity will be of a limited and mostly short-lasting nature. Several experiments (reviewed in Ekstrand 1978) indicate that sensitivity, attitudes, and cognitive development prosper from bilingualism. However, in several ambitious desegregated classroom experiments in Israel (Dar and Resh 1986, Rich et al. 1986), results so far have been poorer than expected, mainly because ethnicity is associated with socioeconomic status, IQ, and schooling, which seem to be more powerful factors.

5. Multiculturalism, Multicultural Education, and Testing

The first cross-cultural study with tests was probably the one conducted in 1899 on the Torres Straits islands off northern Australia (Biesheuvel 1972). In the United States, cross-cultural tests were used as early as 1910 (Anastasi 1968). These tests were developed for the large waves of immigrants, mostly for placement purposes, and particularly for military needs. The best-known test was the Army Alpha, which was found too verbal, hence too biased for non-English speaking groups; thus the subsequent nonverbal Army Beta was developed. Later, Cattell (1971) developed the Culture Fair Intelligence Test, with nonverbal characteristics. Eventually testing became widely accepted in the United States, for employment and for school purposes. Immigrant children were often placed in special classes because of low scores on IQ tests. Yet the use of testing in the schools has been controversial, because tests have been accused of being biased. However, it is not so much the tests per se that should be criticized, but rather the poor practices in using the tests. Malpractices in test application have been strongly attacked by many authors, such as Samuda (1975) and Samuda and Kong (1986).

6. Some Case Studies

6.1 Germany

The case of Germany may be discussed from four different aspects: the education of immigrants; education in the European context, which mostly concerns higher education; schools abroad; and the reunion between the former East and West Germany (see *Germany: System of Education*). In 1992 Germany had a population of some 77 million, 61 from the former West Germany and 16 from the former East Germany. In the then West Germany, the school system was unprepared for the wave of some 4.5 million foreign immigrants and their families, starting in the late 1960s. The authorities did not recognize the permanency of this *de facto* immigration, but labeled the migrants as "guest workers" (Rist 1978).

The German states have individual educational policies and systems. Most of the states of the fed-

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Multicultural Education		
Ethnic group's attitude to majority society	Majority society's attitude toward ethnic group	
	Accepts	Rejects
Positive to majority society/Positive to maintenance	Integration	Segregation
Positive to majority society/Negative to maintenance	Assimilation	Separation
Negative to majority society/Positive to maintenance	Self-separation	Marginalization

Figure 1
The interdependence of interethnic relations and attitudes toward ethnic maintenance

eration limited the number of immigrants they would receive, but this limit was frequently changed according to economic fluctuations. Now and then, groups of "guest workers" were sent away, and hence acted as regulators of the economy. Immigrants from Turkey, Greece, and Yugoslavia by 1990 constituted 12 percent of the total workforce. In cities such as Berlin and Frankfurt, the proportion of permanent foreign citizens was close to 25 percent. Since the beginning of the 1980s, virtually no labor immigration has been allowed; only immigration for family reunion or refugee reasons occurs. In 1991, 200,000 asylum applications came to the Ministry of the Interior, while another 900,000 were being processed.

Educational practices have changed substantially over the years. From models of separate education, especially found in Bavaria, there has been a tendency toward integrated models. In Nordrhein-Westfalen, the most populous state, 65 percent of all foreign children were taught in ordinary schools in 1980 compared to 95 percent in 1986. During the same period the failure rate declined from 60 percent to 30 percent. The proportion of foreign students in the high schools has doubled, hence 3 percent of the students at the most selective *Gymnasiums* are of foreign origin. Bavaria still continued to follow the separatist education policy, providing schools with the mother tongue as the predominant medium of instruction, but it has been substantially modified since the early 1970s, so that much more instruction in and with the German language is given from the very start, and German dominates by Grade 9.

Germany has largely shifted from a separatist to a transitional system of immigrant education. There is a clear goal of some cultural maintenance, but progress is slow. Mother tongue education is mostly given after school hours, only in the major immigrant languages, and to a small proportion of students. Mother tongue or home language teachers are recruited among Germans, rather than from the ethnic groups themselves, meaning that they do not have full command of the ethnic language or culture. In the informal sector, German attitudes are fairly ethnocentric. Virtually all foreign movies are dubbed into German. Germany tries to create German words for new phenomena, rather than borrow the foreign terms. As reported in the press in the early 1990s, attitudes toward immigrants are often suspicious, and interaction occurs rarely. Hence, in Berlin and other major cities ghettos have developed, with unrest and social disturbances.

With the new European integration, certain changes are perceptible. There is, on principle, free exchange of labor within the European Community, so that workers from, for example, the United Kingdom can go to Germany as guest workers. The most prominent change is the exchange program at the higher education level, namely ERASMUS, COMMETT, and the language study program LINGUA. ERASMUS (European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students) is a system for the EEC to exchange students for studies, but not research. The studies at a foreign university are fully accepted for national examinations, the program is open for all faculties and subjects, it is permanent, and the goal is that at least 10 percent of European students shall conduct part of their studies in another country. COMMETT (Community Action Program for Education and Training for Technology) is a program for work experience in companies, and to transmit knowledge between companies and universities.

Germany has an old tradition of establishing schools abroad, in very different countries such as Chile, Finland, Spain, and Sweden. Although most of the teaching is done in German, native language development never becomes fully natural, but a high degree of advanced bilingualism is achieved.

In the united Germany of the early 1990s, two different school systems are being integrated, and in the former East Germany, new values and perspectives are being taught. Teachers are to undergo a complete transformation and teach new contents and values. The integration is supposed to take from five to ten years. The West German school system is the norm for the new Germany.

6.2 *Canada*

Canada has 12 educational systems (see *Canada: System of Education*). The country has an indigenous native population, and two major ethnic groups, the Anglophone and the Francophone Canadians. In addition, there have been for many generations a number of immigrant groups, mainly from Europe, but in smaller numbers from almost all over the world. Immigration is still encouraged, in particular from Southeast Asia. However, bilingual education programs for immigrants are not numerous. It seems that most immigrant children are placed in ordinary English- or French-medium classes. In several metropolitan Toronto schools less than 50 percent of the students have English as their first language. In Vancouver this figure is around 40 percent. The proportion seems to be increasing, and is no longer restricted to urban areas. During the 1980s, there were transitional programs for Italian children in Toronto, Ukrainian and German programs in the west, and ethnically oriented schools for many different groups in several cities. The Heritage Language Program in Ontario involved the teaching of community languages during or after regular school for up to 2.5 hours per week. A program in Quebec taught Italian, Greek, Portuguese, and Spanish to immigrant children for about 30 minutes a day. It is not known how large a proportion of all immigrant children receive some kind of bilingual education.

Adam-Moodley (1986) argues that the discussions about pluralism in Canada are merely rhetoric. Multicultural education is seen as superimposed upon a mainstream Anglo-Saxon curriculum. High-level social and political positions are closed to ethnic minorities, especially the visible minorities.

The best-known multicultural programs are the immersion programs. These consist mainly of teaching English-speaking children in French, but there are a few programs where English immersion classes are available to French-speaking children, and also a few trilingual programs in English-French-Hebrew. In the mid-1980s, more than 75,000 students were assumed to have been exposed to immersion programs (Samuda and Kong 1986). The mother tongue of these students does not suffer, and their academic achievement and cognitive development are in fact very good (Lambert et al. 1973). Total immersion seems to be better than partial immersion.

6.3 *The United States*

The United States has a native minority population, that is various tribes of American Indians; a large English-speaking White minority; a Black population originating from the African slaves; a large number of immigrants from all over the world; and a number of refugees (see *United States: System of Education*). In 1968 the Bilingual Education Act was passed, giving the right to bilingual education to minority students. After the Lau versus Nichols case in the Supreme Court in 1974, bilingual programs expanded over the entire country, for immigrant as well as for indigenous minority students. In this court case, a Chinese family claimed that its child was denied equal educational opportunity because he was not sufficiently proficient in English. This claim was upheld in the Supreme Court. Statistics and projections estimate that the number of persons of non-English language background was 28 million in 1976 (13 percent), 30 million in 1980 (14 percent), 35 million in 1990 (16 percent), and 40 million in 2000 (18 percent). The projected number of children aged 5–14 of limited English proficiency was 2.5 million in 1976, 2.4 million in 1980, 2.8 million in 1990, and 3.4 million in 2000. These figures may be too low because of a heavy influx of refugees. There was also a large number of "undocumented aliens," mostly Spanish speaking.

The expansion of bilingual programs, especially the more maintenance-directed ones, has slowed down, owing to a number of experiences and evaluations. More maintenance does not seem to contribute to academic or linguistic achievement. Students are more affected by the social, physical, and cultural environment which will support that particular language. A bilingual educational model with an emphasis on the actual language, but with continued support in the original language, seems to be optimal (Anderson and Boyer 1978, Linde 1986, Linde and Löfgren 1988, review in Ekstrand 1983). Only very few researchers in Canada and Finland argue that more mother tongue education will give better proficiency in a second language. Results of the Finnish and Canadian studies seem to point the other way.

More and more direct multicultural education programs, aiming at intercultural sensitization, competency, and communication, have appeared in the United States. It is difficult to estimate their extent, but this movement is clearly expanding, and spreading to other countries. Finally, a strong demand for ethnic, segregated schools for Blacks and Hispanics

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has emerged in contrast to pressures during the 1950s to the 1980s for desegregated schools.

See also: Multicultural Education: Anthropological Perspectives; Multicultural Education, Curriculum for

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